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THE Nation

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May 9, 1953
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How To Stop The Demagogues

by Philip Wittenberg

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Vigilantism Plays the Villain

Los Angeles

THE citizens of Silver City, New Mexico, paid scant attention last December when a score of motion-picture people arrived to make a film dealing with a Mexican American mining community not unlike their own. Six weeks later Silver City and neighboring towns were threatened with mob rule.

The last time Grant County had been the scene of organized violence was in 1951 when the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union struck the Empire Zinc Company at nearby Hanover. After an injunction barred the men from picketing, the wives and daughters of the largely Mexican miners held the picket line for nine months, eventually winning working and housing conditions equal to those of the "Anglos."

The picture as planned was to be a fictional version of that struggle. It was sponsored by the union, which had also collaborated on the script. There was some fear that reenactment of the strike scenes might revive the hostility between Anglos and Mexican Americans and between labor and management, but the union, despite its left-wing leadership, was conceded even by the Silver City *Daily Press* to be in many ways "a good union," and it was allowed to go ahead. The Reverend John Patrick Linane, dean of Grant County's Catholic priests, read part of the script and granted permission to use the church and school yard in the picture. No organized protest was made even when it was learned that many members of the film company, Independent Productions Corporation, had been banned from major Hollywood studios for their defiance of Congressional investigating committees and alleged pro-Communist sympathies.

Then, on January 22, a local school teacher wrote a letter to Walter Pidgeon, president of the Screen Actors' Guild, asking him to look into the alliance between the movie-industry "questionables" and the "questionable" local union. The product of their cooperation, she said, could not possibly be "good American propaganda."

Mr. Pidgeon obliged, as did the Motion Picture Industry Council and the Hollywood Film Council (A. F. of L.). All three denied any connection with the Silver City company and asked federal agencies to investigate its activities. On February 12, before the picture was half completed, Victor Riesel in his syndicated column called the project "a new kind of 'shooting' war," declaring that Silver City was "not too far from the Los Alamos atomic proving grounds" (nearly 250 miles); that "hundreds of thousands of dollars" were being spent "by the lefties on this picture" (the picture cost approximately $100,000); and that "two carloads of Negroes" had been imported for a mob-violence sequence (the three Negro members of the company were a sound-boom operator, a still photographer, and a stage hand; but at about that time a Negro basketball team had appeared in the nearby town of Bayard).

On February 24 Representative Donald L. Jackson repeated most of Riesel's statements and told Congress that the picture was a "diabolical attack upon the United States," a "heinous effort of the international Communist conspiracy," "in effect, a new weapon for Russia." It was "deliberately designed," he said, "to inflame racial hatreds and to depict the United States of America as the enemy of all colored peoples," and would do "incalculable harm" if it were shown in Latin America, Asia, or India.

• The next day the heroine of the picture, Rosaura Revueltas, a leading Mexican actress, was arrested by the United States immigration officers on the charge of having entered the country illegally. She was accused specifically of technical irregularities in her passport, which a border official had failed to validate, and in her application for permission to work in the United States. "In view of what has been going on up there and the people involved," said the district immigration officer, Joseph Minton, "I think anyone has the right to assume there might be other angles to this case." On that assumption Miss Revueltas was taken to El Paso, denied bond, and held for ten days. She then returned to Mexico City, and the charges were dropped. Her arrest, reported the El Paso *Times*, "has caused international complications, and protests have poured into Minton's office from Mexico City."

Meanwhile, pressures were building up in Grant County. The Silver City *Daily Press* became increasingly hostile to the movie crew and union; submerged personal, racial, and labor grievances rose to the surface. The situation was made more serious by the mounting unemployment. At the peak of the agitation against the movie-makers 250 miners were laid off by the American Smelting and Refining Company.

• Was it, then, fear of subversion, the threat of unemployment, or outside provocation that caused the acts of violence in Silver City and its environs? During the week after the arrest of Miss Revueltas the hoodlum spirit was rampant. Several attempts were made to destroy the movie sets and halt production; two union leaders were assaulted and a camera was damaged; cars paraded through the city with a loudspeaker blaring anti-Communist sentiments. Some hundred persons held a vigilante meeting and sent union officials and film crew an ultimatum to "clear out of Grant County in twelve hours or be carried out in pine boxes."

Judging from all reports, only a small group of Silver City's 8,000 inhabitants were infected by the vigilante fever. However, ten days after the film company had departed and reinforcements of state police had been withdrawn, the home of a union official at Bayard was burned to the ground and a union hall at Carlsbad was set on fire.

As Representative Jackson predicted, Mexican American relations suffered "incalculable harm"—but before the picture was completed or shown.

HANNAH BLOOM

[*Hannah Bloom is* The Nation's *correspondent in California.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Loyalty Obsession

In the spring of 1947 the American people were sold a loyalty and security program for federal employees. It was accepted without question, loyalty being a good word and everyone who had read about the atomic bomb having become properly concerned about security. *The Nation* was one of a rather lonely company that warned of the dangers implicit in the naive notion that loyalty could be measured by the yard, like ribbon at a dry-goods counter. Six years and many million dollars later the entire program has been scuttled. A new security set-up has just been announced for which President Eisenhower has been at great pains to obtain the pre-natal blessing of those unlovely midwives, McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde.

Billed as a remedy for the evils of President Truman's ill-advised program, this latest attempt to measure the pulse-beat of the loyal gives to department heads virtually arbitrary power of removal and subjects all present and future federal employees to a character scrutiny based on certain specified standards of conduct. Under the new set-up authority is vested in agency heads for the final determination of an employee's security and the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board, which previously performed this function, will be abolished. The new "testing" will take nearly a year to conclude; some 18,901 cases which had received the full "field treatment" under the old program will now be reopened.

A year from today this latest test will doubtless be set aside in favor of some new method of checking loyalty. And so on, suspicion without end, doubt everlasting. "Fear," wrote Wordsworth, "hath a hundred eyes that all agreed to plague her beating heart."

Korea and Indo-China

No more reckless decision has been made by the Eisenhower Administration than to link the Indo-Chinese war with the Korean struggle as parts of a crusade for "freedom" in East Asia. In Korea the United Nations voted military sanctions to stop Communist aggression across a recognized boundary line fixed jointly by the Soviet and American occupying powers. Whatever has happened since to blur the meaning of the U. N. action, that was its cause and its justification. The war in Indo-China had a totally different origin. It began as a struggle by the Indo-Chinese people to end the colonial rule of France. It had the same purpose as the Indonesian rebellion against Dutch colonial rule. The Indonesians won their freedom with the backing of the United States and the United Nations.

By right and precedent the U. N. should similarly have offered its services to bring about a settlement—and self-rule—in Indo-China. Why has it failed to do so? The reason is simple. From the beginning the Indo-Chinese rebellion has had Communist leadership; and France is one of the "Big Five," a permanent member of the Security Council. In the seven bloody years since French negotiations with Ho Chi-minh's regime broke down, the rebels have inevitably depended more and more on Communist China for backing and arms. Whether the bonds created by this partnership would remain firm if peace were made nobody knows. But they exist today, and because they exist the Indo-China rebellion has become in American eyes part of Moscow's drive to overrun Southeast Asia, and France has become a defender of "freedom." By the same token the Communist thrust into Laos is being treated as if it were an invasion of a separate and sovereign state. But Laos, like Vietnam and Cambodia, is neither separate nor sovereign. The three are associated states of the Indo-Chinese union, equally subject to French rule.

The Price of Intervention

These elementary facts should be kept in mind as Mr. Dulles and the Pentagon rush American planes to help the French stem the Communist advance, and as France debates whether or not to refer the attack on Laos to the United Nations. The people of Laos, as the week began, were reported to be digging in to resist the invader, but there is real doubt whether either they or their King have much interest in being defended. The King is counting on the Golden Buddha to protect the capital and has firmly refused French requests that he depart for a safer place. Some close observers believe he would be ready at the critical moment to come to terms with the rebels, hoping that he might continue to perform his rather cir-

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cumscribed kingly functions by grace of the Communists rather than of the French. The King of Cambodia has publicly announced that his people will go over to the Communists if the French continue to exercise all real power in the country.

If the United States is committed to intervening in this particular war, we should at least recognize what sort of quarrel it is, and how vague are the definitions of "freedom" and "aggression" under which we shall act. It would be foolish to deny that a rebel victory in Indo-China would threaten the precarious equilibrium in Southeast Asia, but it would be even more foolish to dream that United Nations or United States intervention would silence the demands for an end to foreign rule. We should realize, too, that nowhere in the Arab-Asian bloc at the United Nations should we find support or thanks for a move in behalf of the French in Indo-China.

Line at the Tariff Trough

The line at the tariff trough is lengthening, now that the House Ways and Means Committee has opened hearings on the Simpson bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Spokesmen for a variety of industries, including glassware, tuna fishing, fine chemicals, and dairy products have already told of their sufferings at the hands of foreign competitors and demanded more protection. Other claimants are pressing to be heard.

The Simpson bill, it should be noted, goes a long way beyond the President's request for a simple extension of the present act for one year; so far beyond, indeed, that Mr. Eisenhower said at a recent press conference he "couldn't possibly accept" it in its present form. His clearly implied threat of a veto has induced Representative Simpson to indicate that he is willing to withdraw one new feature—a clause which would make Tariff Commission proposals for increased duties mandatory on the President instead of advisory as at present.

Even without this clause the bill consorts ill with the Administration's avowed policies. It includes, for instance, two particularly dangerous new sections—one sponsored by lead and zinc interests, the other by a coalition of independent oil producers and coal operators. The first provides for a sliding-scale tariff on lead and zinc which, under present conditions, would raise prices by 40 or 50 per cent; the second imposes a quota system limiting oil imports to 10 per cent of domestic consumption. These proposals are slaps in the face for foreign suppliers who are also important customers. "Some people in the United States," complains J. A. Byrne, Canadian Liberal M. P., "are trying to use Canada as a marginal supplier. They want to take our lead and zinc in times of shortage, and they want us to absorb the grief when supplies become adequate and prices are reduced." Considering our increasing dependence on foreign raw materials, this is an outrageously stupid policy.

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The French Workers Speak

In the French municipal elections several predictions went wrong. For instance, a considerable Communist decline had been expected as the result of the recent crisis in the party. But the Communist candidates, even including several who had been expelled from the party, fared remarkably well. In Paris they obtained more than 27 per cent of the votes in comparison with 25 per cent in 1947. They lost ground in the rural districts, but kept their strength or even inched ahead in the industrial areas. The Socialists also gained. The Catholic M. R. P., which is represented in the government, did not succeed in capitalizing on the strength of the Catholic unions. As a whole the workers voted against the government, against high prices and low wages, against military expenses and the rearmament of Germany.

If De Gaulle was the heaviest loser, René Mayer certainly did not pick up any strength. Those who supported the right, turned again to M. Pinay and his Independents. The gains of Pinay's group make him a likely choice to succeed Mayer when the economic crisis now developing reaches its peak. But it is doubtful that even Pinay will be able to produce a remedy. One of the most serious men in public life, a man with real economic vision, Pierre Mendès-France, who has refused to participate in any of the recent Cabinets, is holding himself in reserve. Should the crisis become very grave he may step in—if it is not then too late.

The Press Meets McCarthy

THE appearance of James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* before Senator McCarthy's investigating committee last week and the scheduled appearance of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian,* before the House Committee on Un-American Activities would be disturbing omens in themselves; but this crass effort to intimidate editors who have criticized Messrs. McCarthy, Jenner, and Velde is one of several developments pointing to the conclusion that the American press is now confronted by a danger without parallel in its history. Only those unfamiliar with McCarthy's tactics will question the accuracy of Mr. Wechsler's prediction that he is "merely the first of a long line of editors who are going to be called . . . because they refused to equate McCarthyism with patriotism."

Few men in public life have better reason to be grateful to the American press than McCarthy; nevertheless he has long reserved his bitterest enmity for the handful of editors and publications that have consistently opposed him. One recalls his unsuccessful attempt to intimidate Drew Pearson and subsequent campaign to drive Pearson from the networks, not to mention his current demand that the army hand over the Pentagon files "on a certain columnist"; his attempt to influence the Luce publications by appeal to their principal advertising accounts; and his long-standing feud with the Madison *Capital-Times* and the Milwaukee *Journal.* When Jack Steele of the New York *Herald Tribune* interrupted the cosy routine of a recent radio forum to ask McCarthy a few sharp questions, the Senator was immediately threatening—"If we were not on the air, I would treat this question [about his finances] in a different fashion"—and later forced the station to delete the passage from the tape recording. One recalls, too, the clumsy attempt of the inquisitors to drag the names of Alan Barth and Herbert Elliston, both of the Washington *Post,* into the record at a recent session, and the still cruder attempt to smear Mrs. Agnes Meyer, wife of the publisher. Indeed, the inquisitors, from Martin Dies to McCarthy, have consistently contended that any criticism of them was tantamount to subversion, but until quite recently a formula was lacking by which they could threaten American editors without appearing to attack the freedom of the press. The Voice of America hearings provided the formula.

THE COMMITTEE McCarthy heads is authorized to investigate not only the entire government structure but every industry, business, school, and charitable organization which receives money, subsidy, or tax relief from the government. The purchase of a book is a slender peg on which to hang an investigation of the press, but McCarthy is not the man to quibble about jurisdictional niceties. On April 14 the Senator announced that he intended to determine whether government agencies were paying subsidies to informational media, including the press, television, and radio, and a questionnaire was promptly dispatched to them requesting such information as the amounts paid for advertising, lists of newspapers and magazines purchased for use in the overseas libraries, the fees paid commentators for broadcasts, and so on. Once Wechsler was before him, McCarthy cynically explained that he was being questioned not because he was an editor but because the State Department had purchased one or more of his books for use in its overseas libraries; the man, not the publication, was being investigated. Yet we have Mr. Wechsler's word that the New York *Post*—its policies, its staff, and its opposition to McCarthy—was the principal target of the investigation. In fact, McCarthy frankly admitted that Mr. Wechsler had been called *mainly* because he was an author but *also* because he had led "the fight against everyone who is exposing the Communists in the government."

The pattern of the attack on the press that is now taking form is perfectly clear. Just as Velde contends that any number of clergymen may be haled before him

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without violating the First Amendment's guaranty of freedom of conscience and belief, and just as Jenner argues that any number of university instructors may be pilloried under his direction without impairing academic freedom, so McCarthy would now have us believe that he can summon newspaper and magazine editors and question them not only about their political beliefs but also about editorial matters without in any way impinging upon the guaranty of a free press!

It is high time that the American public grasped the full implications of this new wholesale application of the *ad hominem* fallacy. Currently the State Department has been conducting a witch hunt of American writers, journalists, scientists, and artists on the ground that a directive forbids the use of material by "known Communists" in its overseas libraries or elsewhere in its information program. In carrying out this directive the State Department has used name checks based on "unevaluated" material gathered by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. According to Ferdinand Kuhn, writing in the Washington *Post* of April 24, name checks were recently ordered on 150 American musicians and composers whose *photographs* were to be shown in an American picture exhibit in Europe! A security officer ruled that four names were *verboten* and that nineteen were "doubtful." As a consequence of this witch hunt, Mr. Kuhn reports, "the flow of books and reprinted magazine articles has dried to a trickle." Normally the State Department sends about 3,000 books each month to its overseas libraries; today it is sending only standard reference works, government documents, and books by "American statesmen"! Ludicrous? Certainly. But precisely this type of censorship—not of the book but of the author, not of the composition but of the musician, not of "Night Fishing at Antibes" but of Picasso—can dry up the sources of culture here at home.

"THE BEGINNING of defense," as Alan Barth wrote in *The Nation* a few weeks ago, "is the recognition of danger." In this instance, the danger of the new censorship may not be recognized in time; every editor not subpoenaed will be encouraged to believe that he enjoys some special immunity, and the public may foolishly conclude that since only a few editors are being catechized, the press is still free. But McCarthy does not need to silence more than a dozen dailies and half a dozen monthly and weekly publications in order to "coordinate" the press. Only a few hostages need be taken to silence the host. A large section of the press indorses his objectives if not his methods. Another section not only approves his methods but has shown the inventiveness of a Torquemada in suggesting still more drastic techniques. Howard Rushmore, who writes a column for the Hearst papers, is now a member of McCarthy's staff; in fact, he participated in the interrogation of Mr. Wechsler. McCarthy must have been encouraged no end by *Collier's* craven appeasement of a handful of West Coast crackpots who demanded the dismissal of Bucklin Moon from the staff because they did not like an article for which Mr. Moon was in no manner responsible. As a measure of his confidence, McCarthy is now "offering" a free weekly column to the press. The public did not buy his book because it did not have to; but how many newspapers will refuse his column?

IN GREAT BRITAIN the *Church of England and Record,* independent weekly, recently charged, and not without reason,* that the American press is largely responsible for McCarthyism. Here and there editors with a conscience have belatedly acknowledged a measure of guilt and, more important, have attempted to guard against the demagogue's exploitation of the press. Recently, for example, Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the Denver *Post,* instructed his staff to evaluate the source of loose charges against individuals, including those made by "official" agencies; to weigh such stories carefully and determine how they would be handled if official immunity were lacking; to withhold publication where possible until proper proof or a qualifying answer could be obtained; to ask themselves whether, of their own knowledge, they knew a charge to be false and to apply any reasonable doubt they might have to its treatment; and, finally in connection with headlines on this type of story, to determine whether the wording was necessary in order to summarize facts or was merely intended as "shock treatment." At the recent meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, forty-three of seventy-five editors polled by a professional journalism fraternity said they thought Congressional inquiries of the type sponsored by McCarthy did more harm than good. But how many of them have invoked the elementary safeguards suggested by Mr. Hoyt? And will the press as a whole recognize in time the clear danger to its freedom that is implicit in McCarthy's campaign to silence his critics? Now, at long last, those eloquent editorials on "freedom of the press," which have consumed so much good newsprint these many years, will be put to the test. Will the great dailies capitulate, or will they decide that now is the time to bring to an end an ignoble witch hunt which in a time of crisis and great danger has divided the nation and held it up to ridicule abroad, and now threatens to undermine three basic institutions of a democratic society—the churches, the schools, and the press? If the big dailies hesitate at the outset, if, as the universities seem inclined to do, they open the gates to the barbarians, they will not only have destroyed the spirit and purpose of a free press; they will have invited their own destruction.

*"Witch-Hunting, 1952: The Role of the Press" by Dozier C. Cade, *Journalism Quarterly,* December, 1952; "A Moral Challenge to the Press" by Alan Barth, the *Colorado Quarterly,* Autumn, 1952. See also the Fifth Annual Memorial Lecture at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism by Elmer Davis, November 3, 1951.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Churchill the Peacemaker?

Paris

THE eleventh session of the North Atlantic Council reflected better than any other event the complexities of the present international situation. For three days the Ministers of the NATO nations struggled to harmonize their numerous incompatible ideas. They were confronted for the first time since the signing of the pact with a Russian attitude that made many of the arguments on which the entire Atlantic coalition was based sound increasingly unconvincing. It was difficult to maintain, as Secretary Dulles did until the very moment when the final communiqué was drafted, that nothing was changed, that the threat of Russian aggression had not diminished in the slightest.

The situation is so fascinating and intricate that it encourages all kinds of sophisticated interpretations. The game has been going on ever since Stalin's death and is revived with every new conciliatory gesture from Moscow. But never was there greater need to try to reduce, without sacrifice of truth, the many conflicting aspects to one that offers a key to the solution of the puzzle. Mr. Dulles's attempt to do so here in Paris was made at the risk of his popularity with the French. He threw his entire weight against any action that could endanger the future utilization of a German army as the most important element of Western strategy. This confirmed again the view that Germany—not Korea or Indo-China or any other issue—is the point in which the contest between the two opposing blocs centers.

Mr. Dulles was not so much interested in obtaining from the NATO nations greater contributions in the form of new divisions or a larger economic effort as in salvaging the principle that the West must continue to rearm, and that its rearmament would be wholly inadequate if a half-million Germans were not incorporated in the European army. Since war does not seem to be around the corner, it did not matter so much whether, by the end of 1953, the West European forces would be stronger or weaker by a few divisions—though General Ridgway, of course, disagrees. For Mr. Dulles the essential thing was to prevent any prospect of a Big Four conference or any other form of negotiation with Moscow from spoiling the West's plans for Germany. Once the idea of the European army, including German contingents, was abandoned, there would be little chance of organizing the military strength upon which he depends for his policy of "liberation." It is not in terms of today but of tomorrow that the attempt to force ratification of the European army treaty is being pursued with such vigor and with so little concern for other countries' feelings.

IN FRANCE the whole plan is terribly unpopular. After even a brief survey of the political terrain I am more doubtful than ever that ratification of the European Defense Community treaties can be voted in the French Parliament before October, if then. Chancellor Adenauer is also facing difficulties in Bonn. But Mr. Dulles is convinced that the European army can be created if only he can succeed in winning the other Western leaders to his own total distrust of Moscow. He did succeed in obtaining a final communiqué in which the NATO Council declared its intention of strengthening Western military power until Russia matched its "peace offensive" with an authentic effort to end world tension.

The firm tone of the communiqué could not hide the fact that present goals have been reduced far below those set in December. This is mainly due to economic considerations—the menace of an impending financial crisis in France, the desire not to discourage the British, who are enjoying their first relaxation of restrictions and a little better daily life. But the impact of the recent Soviet proposals to settle the most controversial issues through negotiation was also evident. Apparently the 1953 goals add no more than eight divisions, the majority of them Italian, to the European command.

Everything now depends on how far Russia is ready to go in the direction of conciliation and how the European powers react to its next moves. The *Pravda* editorial is generally regarded here as an indication that, without making spectacular retreats which its position of strength does not oblige it to make, it is ready to yield at many points both in Europe and in Asia in exchange for an agreement that would free it from the nightmare of a rearmed Germany. And it is precisely there that the aims of Moscow and of Paris coincide. Any Russian proposal that would rescue the French from the dilemma of having either to accept the new Wehrmacht or displease Washington is most attractive.

Paris counts on Churchill to lend strength to its desire. It has been interesting to see the enthusiasm with which the London correspondents of the French papers have been reporting the activities of the Prime Minister, who during the past week, in and out of Parliament, has displayed a vitality that would be astonishing in a man of fifty. He is seen as having taken over the entire direction of British foreign policy in Eden's absence. His intimates represent him as realizing fully that one cannot go on forever saying that one is ready to meet the Russians halfway without making some move in their direction. There have already been two meetings between Molotov and Gascoigne, and there is a rumor in official circles here that a third meeting will soon take place at which the British Ambassador will discuss with the Soviet Foreign Minister the possibility of a visit by Sir Winston to Moscow. Churchill's plan is said to be conceived in two stages: first, personal contacts between the heads of governments; second, a series of conferences that would deal one by one with the major problems dividing East and West. With the NATO meeting over, interest here has accordingly shifted to London, where diplomatic efforts in the next few weeks may produce a further step toward negotiation.

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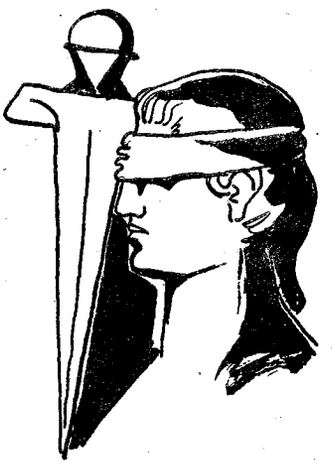
HOW TO SAY NO

To the Demagogues . . . *by Philip Wittenberg*

A CLEAR and present danger threatens the continuance of our constitutional democracy as a government of limited powers. Invasion of one of its branches by either of the others could produce a tyrannical executive, an overbearing judiciary, or an irresponsible legislature. Only by maintaining the purity of the constitutional system of checks and balances can the citizenry be assured against the rise of a monolithic government.

The investigatory committees of Congress have been increasingly trespassing upon the judicial and executive branches. One of these committees recently entered into the field of foreign relations, which is the exclusive jurisdiction of the Chief Executive, and precipitated a conflict of constitutional jurisdiction. There was a time when a President who felt that the judiciary was going beyond its constitutional limitations could say as President Jackson did: "Well, John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." But today when Congress oversteps, neither the executive nor the judicial department seems to have the strength or vision to compel it to observe constitutional manners.

For several years Congressional investigatory committees have been invading the citizen's right to privacy in his political opinions. They have compelled him to take refuge in the protection of the Bill of Rights and the constitutional amendments to such an extent that they have brought that very protection into disrepute. They have created a situation in which a citizen who invokes the Fifth Amendment is thereby deemed guilty of disloyalty, if not by deed, then by association. They have done this by demanding replies to questions which constitutionally they had no power to ask.



The right to inquire into individual political beliefs is a judicial function, if any. Under our form of government such questions should never have been asked by any official of the government. The constitutional limitations should have been self-imposed, so that the prerogatives of the citizens might not be infringed. Justice Frankfurter has said: "A constitutional democracy like ours is perhaps the most difficult of man's social arrangements to manage successfully. Our scheme of government is more dependent than any form of government on knowledge and wisdom and self-discipline for the achievement of its aims." He added that there was a need for limitations "on the power of governors over the governed. . . . The accretion of dangerous power does not come in a day. It does come, however slowly, from the generative force of unchecked disregard of the restrictions that fence in even the most disinterested assertions of authority" (*Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company* v. *Sawyer*).

When President Truman in the Korean emergency attempted to seize the facilities of certain steel companies, Congress criticized him severely for having exceeded his authority, and the matter reached the Supreme Court for a decision. The court, as late as 1951, reaffirmed the historic necessity for the limitations and separation of the powers of government. At least two of the judges quoted the impressive words of Justice Brandeis: "The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power" (*Myers* v. *United States*).

There can be no doubt of the right of Congress to investigate, through committees, matters which may be the basis for legislation. There is the gravest doubt whether such investigation may reach into the private lives, the political opinions, and the religious beliefs of American citizens. Yet so brash have these Congressional committees become that the chairman of one of them ventured to suggest an inquiry into the political beliefs of ministers of religion, as if religion should not be as free from the state as the state is separate from religion.

In at least two cases the Supreme Court has considered the question of how far investigatory committees may go in their inquiry into private affairs. In *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* the court said that neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives "possesses the general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of the citizens." In *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* it reaffirmed this doctrine. Its decision agreed with a remark attributed to John Quincy Adams: "Non-official conduct of a citizen is immune from Congressional scrutiny."

Among the private affairs of the citizen, nothing is more private, if he wishes it to be so, than his political belief. The secret ballot is one of our most sacred privileges. To compel a citizen to confess his personal political beliefs is to violate a cherished American principle; and the wrong is all the greater if his beliefs might tend to degrade or incriminate him. Certainly nothing in the history of American institutions warrants the notion that any official has the right to summon a citizen

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before him and to inquire into matters which the citizen has a personal right to reveal or withhold.

This right to privacy, this right to be free from compulsion, has been scrutinized many times by the Supreme Court. It is good to know, even though Congress seems to have forgotten, that the court has always spoken against such compulsion and has noted that it is a source of despotic power. The court has said, "And any compulsory discovery by extorting the party's oath . . . to convict him of crime or to forfeit his property is contrary to the principles of a free government" (*Boyd* v. *United States*). And again: "The exemption from testimonial compulsion, that is, from disclosure as a witness of evidence against oneself forced by any form of legal process, is universal in American law, though there may be differences as to its exact scope and limits. At the time of the formation of the Union the principle that no person could be compelled to be a witness against himself had become embodied in the common law and distinguished it from all other systems of jurisprudence. It was generally regarded then, as now, as a privilege of great value, a protection to the innocent though a shelter to the guilty, and a safeguard against heedless, unfounded, or tyrannical prosecutions" (*Twining* v. *New Jersey*).

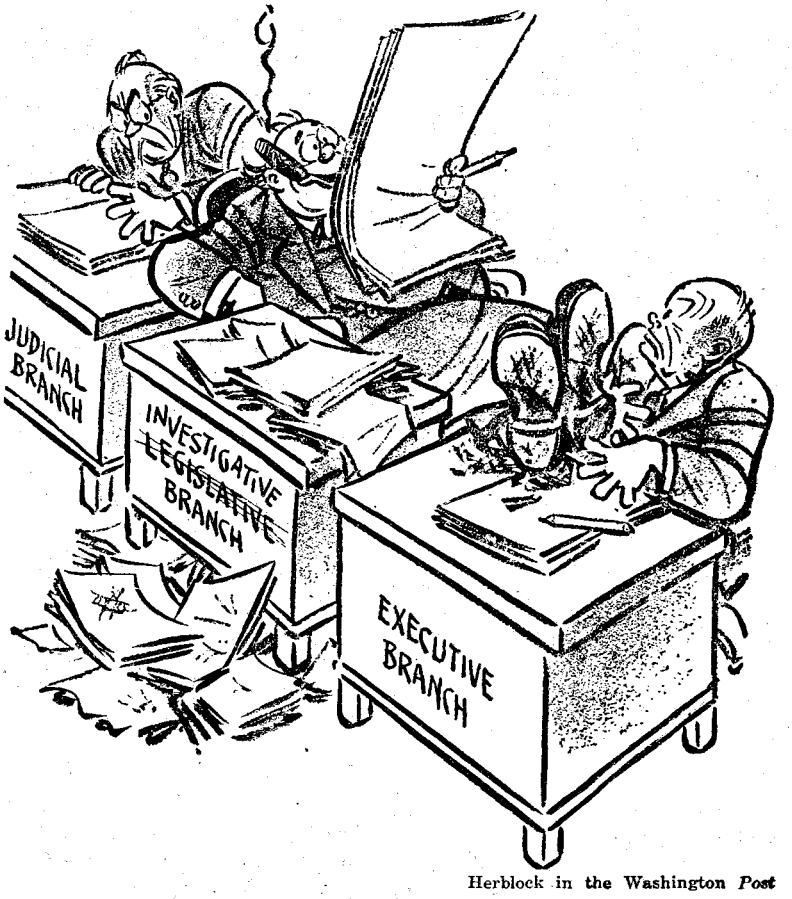
OUR CURRENT Congressional investigating committees have not observed these limitations of their power. They have forced people to express their views; they have forced people to confess their adherence to political beliefs; they have disregarded the American concept that freedom of speech includes freedom not to speak. Many citizens, whether to protect themselves or to protect others, have taken refuge in the Bill of Rights, particularly in the provisions of the First and the Fifth Amendment. Witnesses who refused to answer without invoking their constitutional privilege have been subjected to contempt proceedings. Under the guise of investigating communism, they have investigated personalities and have intruded upon the right to privacy to the point where a witness who seeks the assistance of the Constitution thereby incurs legal disabilities. He is stigmatized as un-American because he has relied upon the protection afforded by the Constitution.

Individual aberration, individual criminality have been reserved to the courts for investigation. In the process the courts have developed many safeguards to protect the innocent. There is no presumption in our law so strong as the presumption of innocence. If in the course of investigation a person is brought before a grand jury, he is automatically given immunity from prosecution. He does not have to state publicly his refusal to incriminate or degrade himself. The proceedings before the grand jury are secret; members of the jury and others are admonished not to make public any testimony given before it. These precautions are taken so that no citizen may incur unjust or unprovable disability.

The Supreme Court indicated the line of demarcation between the legislative and judicial powers when in both the Kilbourn and Daugherty cases it said: "The House of Representatives not only exceeded the limits of its own authority but assumed power which could only be properly exercised by another branch of the government because it was in its nature clearly judicial."

Congressional committees know no such safeguards as does the judiciary. On the contrary, with an exhibitionism aided by radio and television they have made a public show of their forensic ability to demolish the personalities of the witnesses summoned before them. There can be no end to this condition so long as the witness is obliged to take refuge in the Bill of Rights. If these committees are to be stopped in their trespass upon the domain of the judiciary, it can only be done by the witnesses challenging the authority of the inquisitorial body. The Supreme Court has spoken in the Jones case: "The citizen when interrogated about his private affairs has a right before answering to know why the inquiry is made; and if the purpose disclosed is not a legitimate one, he may not be compelled to answer" (*Jones* v. *Securities and Exchange Commission*). To the same effect is the statement in the Daugherty case that "a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded."

In so speaking the court has laid down a rule of conduct for the citizen. He must yield to the committee's right to subpoena him. He must answer until



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"Let's See—What'll I Look into Next?"

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it appears that the investigation involves examination into his personal political belief. At that point he has the right, indeed the duty, to refuse to answer, giving as his reason that the committee has exceeded its constitutional authority and is invading his rights as a citizen. This would raise the clear issue of the committee's offensive conduct and make invocation of the Fifth Amendment unnecessary. Indeed, the committee's invasion of a citizen's rights ought not to be the occasion for pleading the amendment.

IN THE STRUGGLE for law it is the duty of the citizen to refuse to be curbed by any display of overweening authority. But it has been said by the lower courts that in the present emergency—that is, the conflict between democracy and communism—one must weigh the public necessity against the private interest and conclude that public necessity requires the surrender of this constitutional right. Here we have another instance of the type of logic which throws out the baby with the bath water. It is always crisis or emergency that gives rise to the test of power.

In the seizure of steel, when the Korean emergency was involved, Justice Douglas said: "But the emergency did not create power; it merely marked an occasion when power should be exercised. And the fact that it was necessary that measures be taken to keep steel in production does not mean that the President, rather than the Congress, had the constitutional authority to act." Similarly, in the constitutional question here raised, the emergency, if any, does not create power in Congress. If power must be exercised, then the true question is where. Under our form of government the power of inquiry into personal political belief can only be exercised by the courts. This does not make the country powerless. On the contrary, it makes it the more powerful because it keeps alive the strength of its institutions instead of permitting an emergency to sap them.

For instance, in the current inquiry into communism in the schools and colleges the Association of American Universities declared that professors should cooperate with the committee and conceded that invoking the Fifth Amendment was "an indication of probable guilt." No one in this country need or should cooperate with any official in violating the Constitution.

We are not concerned with a single witness or with any number of witnesses. Our concern is the preservation of our democratic institutions. The fight against communism must not be at the expense of Americanism. The right not to have a despotic or autocratic government is a dear one. If we are to fight tyrants and autocrats by suffering tyrants and autocrats to govern us, then we have fought in vain. The great American right of freedom of belief was achieved by the struggle for law which characterizes democracy. If we are to remain democratic, we must now remind the Congress that it is a constitutional body, that it enjoys only legislative power, and that this legislative power is a limited power which does not include the right to indict or prosecute individuals for their political beliefs.

EDGE OF VIOLENCE

Malan's Dangerous Victory . . *by John Hatch*

THE eight and a half million African inhabitants of the Union of South Africa took no part in the recent elections. Only the 1,500,000 Europeans and the 48,000 colored people were entitled to vote. Yet the fate of the Africans was at stake.

Five years ago the National Party fought its way to office with the slogan of *Apartheid* (segregation). Since then the government has concentrated its efforts on carrying out this pledge, enforcing rigid segregation in post offices, in public vehicles, stations, and waiting rooms, in places of entertainment and sport, in restaurants and hotels. Segregation has always been the rule in the schools, and the Nationalists have tried hard to force the two universities, which still admit both races, to change their policy. They have also obtained the passage of laws defining the racial status of every inhabitant of the country, making marriage or sexual intercourse between European and non-European illegal, permitting the division of all areas into racial zones, and requiring municipalities to expel Africans from their precincts so far as is possible. The government's attempt to remove the last of the non-Europeans—the colored—from the electoral rolls was blocked by the courts.

Through its Suppression of Communism Act and two more recent measures, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Nationalist government has arrogated to itself power to suppress all dangerous opponents, declare a state of emergency, and greatly increase the penalties for opposition to its policies. It appealed to the electorate last month on the basis of these achievements and promised to pursue the same policies until all danger to the privileged position of the white community had been removed.

The opposition—a combination of the United Party, the Labor Party, and the ex-servicemen's Torch Commando—offered no clear alternative. Recognizing the paramountcy of the white voters' fears and prejudices, it was forced to approve the purposes of the government and could urge only that they be carried out with greater regard for the constitution and humanity. The Torch Commando, which had come into existence

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solely to oust the Nationalists, took no part in the election campaign so as to remove any tinge of extremism from the opposition forces. The liberal members of the United Party, knowing that their supporters would vote anti-Nationalist anyway, allowed the party to favor the maintenance of white supremacy in the hope of competing with the Nationalists. The contest, therefore, was between the unrepentant and unconditional *Apartheid* policy of the Nationalists and a vague anti-nationalism. The issue was made crystal clear in Dr. Malan's final broadcast: "The election is South Africa's last chance to remain a white man's country. The government's *Apartheid* policy may point the way to the salvation of white communities from the Cape to Kenya."

IN THE 1948 election 53 per cent of the votes were cast for the United and Labor parties and only 40 per cent for the Nationalists and their allies. A shift of 744 votes in an electorate of a million and a half would have given the opposition a majority of seats in the Assembly. This year the government increased its proportion of votes cast to 45 per cent and more than doubled its majority in the Assembly. A minority of the electorate is enabled to control the Assembly by the fact that the rural constituencies, where the Nationalists are strongest, have smaller electorates than the urban, where the opposition has its main strength,

The white community of South Africa consists of Afrikaners and British—the antagonists of the Boer War. Most of the Afrikaners are farmers, and nationalism is their traditional creed, though it has never been embraced by all of them. The British live usually in the towns and support the United Party. Many of them take little interest in politics; of about 20,000 British immigrants eligible to register for this election, only 5 registered, partly, no doubt, because the Nationalists had made it so difficult and expensive to do so. The election results show that this pattern of life is changing. Many of the younger Afrikaners, unable to make a living on the land, have moved into the towns. They are usually unskilled or semi-skilled and thus open to the *Apartheid* argument, which promises them protection against the competition of non-European labor. Undoubtedly the votes of this group account for Nationalist gains in the towns.

The people of South Africa and of the rest of the world must face the fact that nationalism has established itself firmly and probably permanently in power. In the words of a Johannesburg evening paper, "Liberal critics in the Union and overseas bogies like Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister; the United Nations; and the Reverend Michael Scott have been told that the Afrikaner *Volk*, 1,750,000 strong, propose to run their country of 12,500,000 people their own way." These are unrelenting, defiant words, reminiscent of another *Volk* with similar racial ideas. What "way" is it likely to be?

In the first place, of course, rigid segregation will be enforced in every area of national, local, and personal life. Tremendous pressure will be brought to bear on the two universities to make them practice it and on municipalities which have not got rid of as many non-Europeans as the Nationalists would like. The Group Areas Act will be implemented, with the best areas reserved for the whites. During the election the Nationalists made great play of a court decision that segregation on the railways was unconstitutional unless equal amenities were provided for non-Europeans: legislation will certainly be introduced to alter the situation. No doubt, too, the almost unlimited powers of the government will be used to outlaw and destroy any incipient movements which threaten Nationalist supremacy. It can even be expected that the government will go so far as to slow up economic development if it tends to break down the barriers between the races. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, has stated that if industrialization brings an influx of Africans to the towns, as it has been doing for the past half-century, the pace will have to be slackened.

Secondly, the Nationalists will try to devise some means of overcoming the opposition of the courts to their desire to remove the colored voters from the electoral rolls. According to the South Africa Act, this can only be done by a two-thirds' majority of both houses of Parliament. All attempts to circumvent this constitutional provision have so far been blocked by the judges. During the election campaign the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, stated that, if necessary, judges would be chosen who agreed with Nationalist policy; but it may be that Dr. Malan, with his increased majority, will decide to pack the Senate with his supporters.

Finally, the constitutional status of the Union may be changed. The Nationalists would like to establish a republic either within or outside the Commonwealth. Their increased majority has weakened those moderate elements who still respect some degree of constitutionalism and strengthened the fanatical group led by Messrs Strydom, Swart, Louw, and Verwoerd. Mr. Strydom will almost certainly eventually succeed Dr. Malan as Premier and insist on creating a republic in which the Afrikaners will be a privileged *Volk*. Such a republic would be likely to follow the example of Eire rather than of India. Even if it does not, the strains upon Commonwealth unity caused by this new dose of South African racialism will make the rest of the Commonwealth nations doubt whether they want South Africa as a member.

Prime Minister Malan

IT IS AMONG the opposition groups, however, that the election may produce its most significant reactions. The appeasement policy of the United Party is now discredited, and that loose collection of forces, all hoping to get back into power, is near disintegration. The leader of the most cautious group, Colin Steyn from the Free State, has lost his seat, and some of his followers may join the Nationalists, with whom they have few differences. The liberals will probably form a new party, which must expect to remain in the wilderness for many years but may finally do something to bridge

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the widening gulf between whites and non-whites. A third group, led by Harry Oppenheimer and his business friends, is in a quandary. For economic development they need a relaxation of the color bar in industry, but all their efforts to accomplish this through the United Party have failed. It will be interesting to see whether they will support, even secretly, a new liberal party.

The effect of the Nationalist victory on the Africans, and also on the Indians and colored, will be to convince them that only by a united effort can they release themselves from bondage. The passive-resistance campaign can be expected to start up again—already more than 8,000 resisters have gone to jail. The struggle will be watched with sympathy by Africans throughout the continent, and it will not be long before the sympathy takes a practical form. Violent methods will be used by the government to crush all opposition, but such methods tend to strengthen resistance. Everywhere in Africa it is believed that the South African whites have declared war on the natives from the Cape to Cairo. The outcome may shake not only Africa but the whole world.

RUSSIA'S GERMAN CARD

Unity Plus Rearmament . . *by Mark Gayn*

CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S American tour had all that he could have desired of pomp, good-will, and oratory. In Washington he was given renewed promises of help in equipping a German army. And on his triumphal return home his foes conceded that the trip had reinforced his bid in the coming federal elections.

It was at San Francisco, commenting on the possibility of new Soviet overtures to Germany, that the Chancellor made the most significant remark of his tour. "Germany," he said, "will not give up its role in the European Defense Community in the event of reunification of our country." This probably reflected the Chancellor's own faith more truly than the mood of his country. For if there is any fact on which all observers in Germany are agreed, it is that to the German people, east or west, national unity is far more important than rearmament; every other issue is emotionally and politically subordinated to that of unity.

Since his return to Bonn the Chancellor has repeated his declaration a number of times. But as every politician in Europe knows, the new Soviet "peace offensive" may make it meaningless. In fact, if vigorously and successfully pressed, the "offensive" could make hash of all established European policies, as well as of Adenauer's own program and coalition. And the reason lies in the mood of the German people, which a high official in the German Federation of Trade Unions (D. G. B.) described to me recently as "a mess of fears, hopes, and uncertainties."

The slogan *ohne mich* (without me), coined in reply to the remilitarization campaign, was the ultimate in propaganda magic. But it has been misinterpreted in the West as a sign of universal German opposition to rearmament. Actually even the Social Democrats are not opposed to rearmament in principle. A representative of Herr Blank, who presides over the inner kernel of the German War Ministry, tells me Blank's office received more than fifty thousand applications from men who aspired to be soldiers before it issued a plea that no more write in until the hour was ready. Even the trade unions, which have more than once shouted down their own leaders when they were backing rearmament, are uncertain. One officer has said, "If we in the D. G. B. said no to rearmament, 70 to 80 per cent of our membership would object. If we said yes, 60 to 70 per cent would walk out on us." What the West Germans fear is not a new army; most of them would probably welcome it. They fear that the creation of another Wehrmacht will forever divide the land into hostile halves, hasten the rearmament of East Germany, and eventually bring dreadful Soviet retaliation. The way things are going now, a new world war would be a civil war for Germany.

It is within Moscow's power to meet most German hopes and soothe most German fears. Moscow can allow German unity, a national army, and free national elections. It can sign with this new united Germany a pact of nonaggression that would seemingly make all West European entanglements unnecessary and even dangerous. And it can dangle before the Ruhr industrialists the promise of orders that would make the Hitler rearmament boom look picayune. Just as East Germany today provides chemicals and machinery for all the Soviet satellites, so a united Germany may be given the irresistible prospect of the entire Communist market, from Albania to China. Washington would do well not to underestimate the attraction of such an offer to both the industrialists and the workers of West Germany.

If and when it comes, the triple-barreled Soviet offer of unity, rearmament, and markets is bound to have an explosive effect on German politics. If it is well timed, it might throw the federal elections in September to the Social Democrats, who have long made national unity their main plank. In any elections held throughout the whole country the Social Democrats would be almost certain to win a majority, since the Protestant east has always been a Socialist stronghold. A good deal of

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truth is mixed with the malice in the Socialist charge that Adenauer would rather preside over a truncated Catholic West Germany than over a united Germany in which the Protestants of Prussia would disturb the present political balance.

MOSCOW has not yet gone beyond generalities. But if a genuine unity offer is made, it will almost certainly destroy the unstable West European defense structure. If the Social Democrats are brought to power, they will emasculate the European defense treaties beyond all recognition. If Adenauer, by some process of political black magic, manages to retain power in a reunited Germany, even he may hesitate to create a Wehrmacht hostile to the Soviet Union when the Red Army is just across a narrow river.

Nor would the Chancellor find it easy to resist the neutralist tendencies among his wealthy backers. Two years ago a Ruhr industrialist told me that he and his kind saw no sense in taking sides: "For us, taking sides can mean only a Soviet invasion, and we all know what that means." One of the notable books published in West Germany last year, "Deutschland am Rande Zweier Welten," by Wilhelm Wolfgang Schutz, argued that only armed neutrality would save Germany from becoming a battlefield. The author was at the time an adviser to the Minister for All-German Affairs.

Neutralism is not confined to a few individuals. I found its champions among the miners of the Ruhr and the shopkeepers of Bavaria. And I got perhaps the most lucid expression of it from a member of the D. G. B.'s eleven-man council. "You ask me what will be the policy of a united Germany," he said. "I don't imagine that this policy will be 100 per cent like the policy you expect from West Germany. A united Germany will be tied to the West, but we happen to have a common border with Russia and we can't always keep our finger on the trigger. Every party, including the Social Democratic, is pro-Western, but we can't antagonize Russia. Moscow's first objective is to avert the immediate military danger of a rearmed West. After that it will depend on lucrative trade offers to bind the new united Germany to the East. There are elements of danger for us in it, but not if the West maintains normal relations with us."

What this all means is that if the Russian-American conflict ever develops into a shooting war, most Germans want to sit it out. In other words, *ohne mich.*

The price Moscow would have to pay for neutralizing Germany is high, but it is not prohibitive. The West is inclined to think that Moscow would hesitate to hold free elections in Germany, or to throw overboard the present East German regime, or to allow the creation of a national Germany army. All these assumptions are wrong. There is every reason to believe that Moscow would not hesitate to abandon the East German government. There is also good reason to believe that the Communist Party, so thoroughly organized in the Soviet zone,

would get 10 to 15 per cent of the national vote. This would give it enough of a foothold in the national parliament to be able to advertise its philosophy and grievances. (It is noteworthy that in the elections to works councils in the Ruhr coal mines a few weeks ago the Communists, in the face of powerful Social Democratic pressure, retained roughly 17 per cent of the places.)

The Soviet Union, it is true, would risk the revival of the traditional fears of Germany's eastern neighbors, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia. When Moscow first aired its proposals on German unity early last year, the satellite press and radio launched a campaign of unusual intensity to persuade the people in these countries that they had nothing to fear. The argument was that Germany had reformed, that the Red Army would always safeguard peace, and that anyway one should have faith in Stalin's wisdom. Now there are some signs that public opinion in Poland and Czechoslovakia is being prepared for new shocks. When the Bundestag ratified the European Defense Community treaty in March, both Russian and Polish comment was unusually mild. While sharply attacking Chancellor Adenauer himself, Warsaw, for instance, insisted that "every honest German" was opposed to the treaty. If a decade ago the only good German was a dead German, today nearly all Germans are good because they are opposed to the "Adenauer rearmament."

Part of the price asked would be the restoration of large chunks of lost German territory. The lands beyond the Oder-Neisse, now belonging to Russia or Poland, are historically German. In fact, there are few worse post-war monstrosities than a Polish Silesia, or a Königsberg known as Kaliningrad. Feeling in Germany on the subject is fairly high. But one factor cannot be ignored. While there is German soil beyond the Oder-Neisse, the Russians saw to it that there are no Germans. "It is not a situation," a Düsseldorf editor told me, "that calls for a German Panmunjom." And Russia could always persuade Poland to give up, say, the port of Stettin to a reunited Germany.

THUS, CONSIDERING the international disruption their offer could cause, the Russians would not have to pay too much. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the effects of such a move on our own European policy, especially on the concepts of "containment" and "liberation." But it should be noted that if a united, armed, and neutral Germany ever comes into being, it will inevitably seek to expand. This it cannot do eastward, for the Red Army bars its way. It can only expand in the direction of the vacuum of power—toward France. And we should be naive to imagine that Moscow and Paris do not realize it. That is what makes French ratification of the European defense treaties so doubtful. The Soviet "peace

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offensive has already given a tremendous boost to French neutralism, and if Moscow follows through with a specific and generous offer on German unity, France, like the United States, will have to cast about for a new foreign policy.

There are solid reasons for the expectation that Moscow will make new peace overtures on Germany and that they will follow the lines outlined above. The first signs have appeared in *Pravda* and in the East German press. General Chuikov has had some relevant things to say on the subject. The East German radio has initiated some intriguing broadcasts beamed at England. What is more significant, the general contours of the Soviet proposals were displayed in the clumsily handled series of Soviet notes early last spring. Moscow at that time proposed in effect a united, rearmed, and neutral Germany, with a war industry of its own and with former Nazis reinstated in public life.

Such proposals have good precedents in Soviet diplomacy. Entries in the Soviet "Diplomatic Dictionary," edited by no less a personage than Andrei Vishinsky, indicate that the Soviet government from its earliest days has sought a neutral or friendly Germany, regardless of that country's political coloration. This purpose appeared in the Rapallo treaty, which broke the World War I model of "containment," as it did in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. The policy changed briefly after the last war, when Russia appeared determined to have Germany disarmed and de-Nazified, but it did not take the Kremlin long to realize that a power vacuum in Germany was even worse than a rearmed Germany with which a deal could be arranged. A dramatic reversion to the traditional policy came with the first Soviet note on German unity on March 10, 1952.

Memories of Rapallo weigh heavily on German minds. Chancellor Adenauer himself referred to it in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington: "The era of the Treaty of Rapallo has not come again. At that time Russia was weak. It sought and found as a partner a still powerful Germany. Should we attempt such a partnership, we should soon find ourselves reduced to a satellite of Soviet Russia. I know no one in Germany who would want this." However persuasive this argument, it can hardly counterbalance the appeal of unity to most Germans.

If still more proof of Moscow's intentions is needed it is spelled out in eleborate detail in two Soviet documents —Stalin's thesis of last fall and Malenkov's speech before the Nineteenth Party Congress last October. Both forecast new dissension in the Western camp, with a seeming accent on a revived Germany and Japan. What then—as seen from the Kremlin battlements—could procure a prettier capitalist wrangle than a united and rearmed Germany thirsting to get back the Saar and push into the great military nothingness beyond it?

NEW DAY DAWNING

The Negro and Medicine . . *by Alfred Maund*

Livingston, Ala.

I believe in strekt segregation. It is better for bothe races. The average negroe is incapable of competing, mentally, with the average white person. Neither is the average white person capable of competing, physically, with the average negroe. Each will do better when associated with his own race. A few extry smart negros and a few low minded whites would like to amalgamate the two races and that is really what non-segregation means.

When a white doctor in Oklahoma sends you this comment, with its quaint spelling, it is hard not to think he is kidding. But serious or not, his views appear charmingly naive in comparison with the following statement from an internal-medicine specialist in the District of Columbia:

How about the health needs of our racial germ plasm? Do we know enough in this direction to be leaping into the dark, literally as well as figuratively? Non-segregation on the social level . . . will provoke miscegenation and hasten the fusion of two widely distinguished races. Does anyone know just what this might mean? No one does. I shudder before the possibilities.

The letters of both physicians were comments on a questionnaire mailed to the 42,500 white doctors listed in the A. M. A. Directory for seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an anti-discrimination organization with headquarters in New Orleans. These were the questions:

1. Which of the following plans do you think best serves the health needs of the entire community? (A) Admit patients to hospitals without segregation. (B) Admit Negro and white patients to the same hospital with segregation. (C) Maintain separate hospitals for Negro and white patients.

2. Would you favor the admission of Negro physicians to your county medical society?

3. Would you favor granting hospital privileges to Negro physicians in hospitals in which you practice?

Replies were received from 5,750 physicians, of which 3,928 were signed. Racial segregation of patients was strongly supported. Plan B was favored by 64 per cent of the voters, Plan C by 11 per cent, Plan A by 17 per cent. The other 8 per cent either did not answer the question or suggested other arrangements. A Delaware doctor summed up the senfiments of a sizable number of his colleagues when he wrote: "In theory I favor Plan A. However, in actual practice admission without segregation in this locality would meet with

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overwhelming lay criticism at the present time."

The vote on the admission of Negro doctors to county medical societies and hospital staffs was overwhelmingly affirmative—71 per cent in favor, with another 3 per cent giving qualified approval.

THIS FIGURE indicates a grass-roots sentiment directly counter to the general practice of the medical societies in the states surveyed. Too often, even where Negro doctors are admitted to membership, they enjoy only the privilege of attending scientific meetings and are not eligible for appointment as hospital staff members. It should be noted, however, that Florida has had full integration for more than two years; the District of Columbia society opened its rolls last July; and in the past few months county societies in Charleston (S. C.), Macon (Ga.), and Little Rock (Ark.) have accepted Negroes as full members.

What motivated this group of Southern doctors, with their strong concern for regional *mores,* to vote so consistently for liberalization of their organizations? The counsel of a district medical society in Arkansas wrote: "As a medical society is a scientific organization and not a social organization, I see no reason to limit its membership on either race, color, or creed; it should be limited only by character, moral standing, educational background, etc." (One of his colleagues in the state queried: "If you admit colored people, what about the auxiliary? When the auxiliary has a party, would you want your wife to dance with a colored doctor?")

A Texas surgeon declared: "A Negro physician is usually a well-qualified gentleman; regardless of the color . . . I had rather have a fine Negro doctor than the jealous jackass that we so often contact." (A Mississippian countered: "In so far as I know, none of the Negro physicians practicing here are eligible for membership . . . because of their inadequate training. I have a number of good colored patients. All tell me the colored doctors are 'plain no-count.'")

"Although I am of the opinion that the admission of Negro physicians will be bitterly opposed," said an Alabama doctor, "unless we admit them voluntarily they can go to court and force us to admit them, since they will *have* to gain admission for qualification as members of various specialty boards, societies, etc." Another Alabamian added, "I do believe that in order to raise the standards of practice of Negro physicians and encourage migration of competent Negro physicians and surgeons to a given community, some sort of hospital affiliation is in order."

These doctors are working in states which have the worst public-health records in the United States. The national average of rejections in Selective Service examinations is around 30 per cent; in only three of the states polled is the rate less than 40 per cent, and all are above the average. Local Selective Service officials will admit, privately, that the great majority of those rejected are Negro. Conditions in Atlanta were described succinctly by one doctor: "There are twenty Negro physicians to help serve a Negro population of 100,000. Mortality rates are unreasonably high in our local Negro hospitals. The medical background of many of these Negro physicians is shallow." In Baltimore, said another, "there is a great shortage of all types of hospital beds for Negro patients, but particularly obstetrical beds. Yet there are 'white' beds empty which could be used for them."

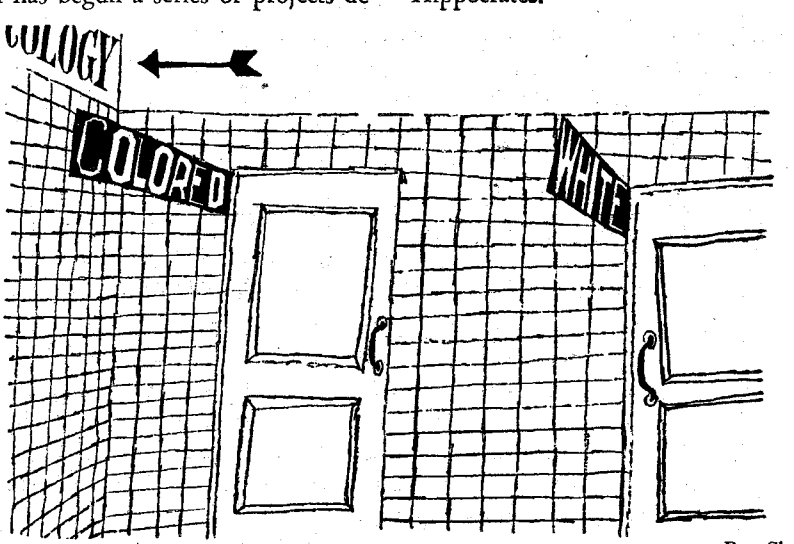
Southern laymen who believe that medical facilities ought to be shared according to need regardless of race should be aroused by these returns to take direct action. They should encourage the liberal minority in the medical profession and bring pressure to bear on its conservative leadership. Some Southerners have already taken up the gauntlet.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund has begun a series of projects designed to alert the public to the inequities of segregated medical care. Aubrey Williams, Alabama publisher and writer, is president of this organization, and six college presidents and deans are on its board. Its funds are supplied by some 3,000 individual contributors over the country. Besides taking the poll described above, it has investigated other aspects of the subject.

The Interracial Hospital Movement of Kentucky has presented to the governor a petition with 10,000 signatures demanding that equal hospital facilities be made available to all citizens. As a result, the last session of the Kentucky Senate passed unanimously a bill to rescind the operating license of any institution denying treatment to a patient because of race or creed. Although the House later modified the measure to read "denying *emergency* treatment," the law is a big step forward.

BUT AS IN THE CASE of the public schools, the ultimate solution may lie with the courts. If integration of tax-supported hospital wards were enforced by judicial edict, the various religious denominations would be shamed into adopting similar policies in their hospitals—just as they are now opening the doors of their seminaries. The Veterans' Administration would be emboldened to adopt a consistently democratic attitude toward its patients. Congress might even put teeth in the Hill-Burton act, which gives federal funds for the construction of hospitals and allows the states to set up the rule of Jim Crow.

Then, perhaps, a Fourteenth Amendment would be appended to the Oath of Hippocrates.



Ben Shahn

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TWO POEMS FOR SPRING

There Is a Dark River

There is a dark river flows under a bridge
Making an elbowed turn where the swallows skim
Indescribably dark in rain.
You think of the Floss, drifting down
To the boyhood of the implacable maelstrom
And a boathouse rotting in shadow.
The grapes of Concord are thick with hawthorn
And the old manse is ripe with the sprung rain.

There is a dark river under the bridge
Though beyond, grasses stand up—
Most English lone at the wide bend.
The aged spirits of when they wrote
Memorable words on the window pane—
What but the diamond's firmness gives them fame?
And yet because they did it
The field is thick with spirit.

Across from this rich running a crop
Under the pines of black-toothed stones.
Happy the lilac; happy each stem
By the troughs of the green sunk down.
Something other than animal dread
Made us pray when we stood on them
That this same love with the full of thought
Go down and touch at the base of the root
The unutterable, which is unmortal.

There is a dark river flows under a bridge
Where the reeds stand in the come and go
Of a boathouse black in the shadow.
Here swallows fly over its swirl.
A wild gyre of midges below.
Specters sweet-fleshed in the water
Specters whom we might know
Stand chanting of that which we no longer
May read the text for, in the shadow.

And yet the color of their tears is over the water
And the air is plunged into echo
Of their long eyes in the mirror.
Do we not see this, do we not know—
Ah! in the gliding below
Is not the sight slanted with thought
Of this same willow from which they drank—
Rich-running water, indescribably much
Emblackened by redolent wild-running years
As at nightfall when clamor thickens
All the night over with sleeping things,
Invisible footfalls and murmurings—

Here where the swallows drink from the bend
Shadows our shadows stir—
Ah! to feel is to understand
Under the dark down-reaching rain
What glides over and what looks in,
Deep in its depths contained—

And we are heavy with history,
Under the boughs to play
In the consubstantial come and go
Of games, at eternity,
Your light voices here wedding here, over all.

JEAN GARRIGUE

Pastorale

The bank swallows veer and dip,
Diving down at my windows,
Then flying almost straight upward,
Like bats in daytime,
And their shadows, bigger,
Race over the thick grass;
And the finches pitch through the air, twittering;
And the small mad siskins flit by,
Flying upward in little skips and erratic leaps;
Or they sit sideways on limber dandelion stems,
Bending them down to the ground;
Or they perch and peck at larger flower-crowns,
Springing, one to another,
The last-abandoned stalk always quivering
Back into straightness;
Or they fling themselves against tree trunks,
Scuttling down and around like young squirrels,
Birds furious as bees.

Now they move all together!—
These airy hippety-hop skippers,
Light as seed blowing off thistles!
And I seem to lean forward,
As my eyes follow after
Their sunlit leaping.

THEODORE ROETHKE

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BOOKS

Understanding India

THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA AND PAKISTAN. By W. Norman Brown. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

MISSION WITH MOUNTBATTEN. By Alan Campbell-Johnson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

MANY Indians and Pakistanis, writes Professor Brown, suspect the United States of "playing its own game, and any other nation making an alliance with it, they often say, should walk carefully . . . and look out for sudden unilateral action that could be embarrassing to an unprepared companion. Conversely, the British, who were viewed in India as ogres before the war, are now admired for political liberalism and realistic conduct in the face of adversity."

In the last chapter of his book—an admirable guide to the recent history and current problems of the Indian subcontinent—Professor Brown reviews very judicially the reasons for this suspicion of America. Alan Campbell-Johnson, in his fascinating diary of the Mountbatten mission which brought British rule to a close, provides important clues to the contrasting improvement in Anglo-Indian relations.

Implementation of the British Labor government's promise to free India was being obstructed by furious controversy between Hindus and Moslems, when in February, 1947, Prime Minister Attlee issued an ultimatum. The Indian parties, he said in effect, must agree by June, 1948, whether independence was to be on the basis of union or partition: on that date the British intended to hand over to whatever successor government, or governments, was in being. History is likely to record this bold cutting of the Gordian knot as a master-stroke of statesmanship. Its success was assured by an equally unorthodox move—the appointment of Lord Mountbatten, a young man with a great reputation as a war-time commander but no political experience, as Viceroy and liquidator of the Indian Empire.

CAMPBELL-JOHNSON, Mountbatten's press attaché, viewed the whole drama from a vantage point in the wings. His diary, he explains with an unnecessary apology, provides "a hurried, breathless narrative." But it is just because this story was slapped red-hot on to paper, instead of being written after sober reflection, that it combines vivacity with genuine historical value.

Most readers, no doubt, will detect the color tones of hero-worship in the author's portrait of his chief. But after discounting this element they will hardly fail to be convinced that Mountbatten is a man of formidable charm, great patience, and lightning intelligence—in short, a diplomat of the highest order. "His gift for friendship has triumphed over everything," said an Indian to the author on Independence Day.

Freedom won, both Indians and Pakistanis came quickly to realize that Britain, in partial compensation for past exploitation, was leaving behind a valuable inheritance, particularly in the form of political ideas, judicial standards, and administrative techniques. Most of the leaders of the two countries knew England well—many had been educated there—while a goodly number of Britons have acquired a wide knowledge of Indian problems and a sympathetic appreciation of Indian culture.

As Professor Brown points out, there is as yet no similar basis for mutual understanding between Americans and Indians. Contacts between the two peoples have been limited, and only a handful of men in this country have expert knowledge of some aspect of Indian life and history. Thus opinion about India is woefully uninformed: until independence the views of most Americans, to quote Dr. Brown, "were determined almost entirely either by an unreasoning Anglophobia or an uninquiring Anglophilia."

Both American ideas about India and Indian ideas about America tend to be stereotypes. Many Americans think of India "as a land of meditating omphalopsychites, hypnotic swamis, naked ascetics, bejeweled princes of fabulous wealth and incomparable harems, bareskinned, poverty-stricken, famine-ridden masses," and so forth. Largely from Hollywood, Indians and Pakistanis have derived a picture of America as a country of easygoing, gun-toting dollar-chasers, possessing an envious efficiency but devoid of morals or ideals.

American prestige in India rose during the last war when President Roosevelt was visibly prodding Churchill on the independence issue. After that, it tended to decline until Ambassador Bowles supplied a restorative. But Indians and Pakistanis continue to feel that Americans do not understand the nature of Asia's current revolution, and they resent suggestions that they should enlist as unquestioning allies in the cold war. Their skepticism about the great Western crusade in turn infuriates some Americans, and all too many of our journalistic black-and-white artists depict India as a Soviet stooge.

PROFESSOR BROWN, a life-long student of India, provides a useful corrective to such crudities and pleads the urgent necessity for greater understanding. The United States cannot afford the enmity of these two great new nations, comprising one-fifth of the world's population. In turn, India and Pakistan need American technical and financial assistance if they are to fulfil the promise of independence. They need, and need quickly, large amounts of capital not merely to create industries but for such basic investments as communications, schools, water supply, public health, and land improvement. With the vast majority of their peoples on a subsistence standard of living they cannot, by democratic methods, squeeze the requisite savings out of internal resources. Thus, lacking financial aid from the West, they have only two alternatives: resignation to economic stagnation varied by famine, or adoption of Communist techniques for lifting the economy by its bootstraps.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism."*

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Guide to Robert Flaherty

THE WORLD OF ROBERT FLAHERTY. By Richard Griffith. Duell, Sloan and Pearce–Little, Brown. $5.

By Robert Hatch

YOU might call this book a pleasant sightseeing tour around a vivid and creative personality. Richard Griffith, curator of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, has taken excerpts from the diaries, letters, and published books of Flaherty and his wife and from Pat Mullen's chatty history of the making of "Man of Aran." He has written passages of his own to connect these fragments into a narrative that follows the sequence of the Flaherty documentaries: from "Nanook of the North" to "Moana" and "Tabu" to "Man of Aran" to "Elephant Boy" and home at the end to "The Land" and "Louisiana Story." Flaherty's memoirs are warm with admiration and affection for the people he filmed; his wife's notes and letters home are lively comments on the circumstances of movie making on the frontiers; Mullen has almost too aware an eye for the rough excellence of his native island. These scrapbook items are attractive footnotes on Flaherty, but you learn from them surprisingly little that is central to the man or his aims or his working methods. Flaherty was apparently not given to reflecting on paper about himself and his ambitions; and the other two writers step around these subjects as if by prearrangement.

Griffith realized, I think, that his material was peripheral and tried to supply a focus in his own comment. But since he appears in the modest role of guide, he must confine himself to broad pronouncements: Flaherty was an open and generous man, he made a new kind of picture, he sought the spirit of human aspiration in primitive societies, he was not—and is not—sufficiently appreciated. All this is true but too sweeping to provide insights. Why, if he was such a whole and healthy man, did Flaherty find it necessary to seek virtue in virginal societies? It appears that he carried the Garden of Eden with him, for he was always urging his subjects back into worlds of moral beauty that no longer existed except as folk memories. It is teasing not to have the matter opened up more fully, and this is only one point among many.

Griffith gives us to understand that he knew Flaherty well—he calls him Bob even in print—and that he has a comprehensive theory about his work and relationship to the broad field of the movies. A reader must wonder if he intends some day to incorporate the elusive glimpses of this volume in a biography solid enough to be called "The World of Robert Flaherty."

ROBERT HATCH is on the staff of the *Scientific American.*

New Books in Brief

Art of Dead Actors

SHAKESPEARIAN PLAYERS AND PERFORMANCES. By Arthur Colby Sprague. Harvard. $4.50. In his previous "Shakespeare and the Actors," Professor Sprague showed how research can discount the familiar opinion that the art of a dead actor is something we can know nothing about. By the eighteenth century newspaper and other first-hand reports become available, and so do prompt books and other forms of evidence on the basis of which it is possible to know not only the general effect created but a good deal about stage business, the emphasis put upon words and phrases, and so on. By patiently collecting such bits of information and putting them together Professor Sprague tells us a great deal about how Betterton played Hamlet; Siddons, Lady Macbeth; and Kean, Othello. Eight such accounts are included in the present volume, and the general conclusion is that though styles have certainly changed drastically we would still find such performances intelligible and impressive.

High Cost of Welfare

TAXATION AND INCENTIVE. By Lady Rhys-Williams. Oxford. $3.50. Like many other sociologists, Lady Rhys-Williams is concerned about the effect upon the incentives to work and to invest of the crushing burden of taxation the financing of English welfare benefits has made necessary. Unlike many other critics, she desires to continue social security at its present level. What to do? Her solution is in two parts. In the first place she suggests a merger of social-welfare contributions and ordinary income-tax payments into one tax schedule. The second part of this program includes payment of cash payments to *all* Englishmen, employed or not, according to family size. In this way she hopes to restore incentives, since the difference between the income of the employed and the unemployed would be the full amount of wages received. A choice is offered of five rather complicated tax schemes. Like most other devices which purport to solve intricate social questions, this one fails to carry conviction.

The Ante Bellum South

THE COTTON KINGDOM. By Frederick Law Olmsted. Edited, with an Introduction, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Knopf. $6.75. If Frederick Law Olmsted is remembered generally at all nowadays, it is as the landscape architect who laid out New York's Central Park and many other fine public pleasure grounds. Social historians, however, think of him as perhaps the ablest reporter of social and economic conditions in the ante bellum South, through which he made two extended journeys in 1853 and 1854. His observations first appeared as letters to the New York *Times* which formed the basis for three separate books. The present work is a revised and abridged version of these earlier volumes which Olmsted prepared in 1861 at the suggestion of a London publishing house. Its reissue in the Borzoi Editions of Books on America's Past is a boon to all students of the Civil War period.

Olmsted was no emotional Abolitionist. He approached the problem of slavery objectively, and although he did not neglect its moral aspects, he stressed its economic consequences. With a wealth of telling facts he demonstrated that the dependence of the South on

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slave-grown cotton, so far from giving the region a strangle-hold on the world's commerce as Southern politicians claimed, was a prime cause of "lazy poverty" and an insuperable barrier to any kind of broad economic development. Time has proved the accuracy of this diagnosis.

Florence Kelley

IMPATIENT CRUSADER. By Josephine Goldmark. Illinois. $3.50. In his foreword to this biography of Florence Kelley, Felix Frankfurter says: "The pages that follow give an account of the life of a woman who had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century." He goes on to characterize the book as "the exciting story of her undaunted efforts to eliminate what she helped to reveal as the ugly concomitants of our stupendous industrial development—child labor, unconscionable hours of work, particularly for women, exploitingly low wages, a shockingly high rate of infant and maternal mortality, neglect of safeguards against occupational diseases." Florence Kelley was the most militant of that remarkable group of dedicated social reformers which included Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Lillian Wald. This fine record of her indefatigable work and extraordinary accomplishments is a revelation of the fierceness of the fight that had to be waged for measures now taken for granted.

Escape Story

9:15 TO FREEDOM. By Martin Fiala. British Book Center. $2. This little volume deals with the unforgettable escape, back in September, 1951, of an oddly assorted group of twelve Czechs who appropriated a local train and dashed across the border to Germany at sixty miles an hour. They were later joined by twenty-seven passengers, delighted to find themselves caught in this unexpected venture. In preparing this book Mr. Fiala—a pseudonym—interviewed the original twelve plotters, and the stories of what made them flee their native land make for instructive reading on life under communism. Though marred by melodramatic—and at times plain foolish—writing, this turns out to be a chilling and exciting tale.

From the Lawrence Legend

LORENZO IN SEARCH OF THE SUN. D. H. Lawrence in Italy, Mexico, and the American Southwest. By Eliot Fay. Bookman Associates. $2.75. A synoptic version of the Lawrence legend compiled chiefly from the gospels according to Mabel Dodge, Dorothy Brett, Witter Bynner, Frieda Lawrence, and the rest. Taking his subject's greatness for granted, Mr. Fay remains otherwise neutral, attempting with considerable success to chronicle the events and recreate the atmosphere of Lawrence's restless wanderings as well as of his relations with a group of possessive women. Readable and interesting but just because it is concerned exclusively with the hours when Lawrence was not being a writer, probably doing less than justice to a man whose inconsistency, irritability, and vague yearnings after he knew not what are displayed at full length. Lawrence may have been a genius, but he had his full share of littleness as

Encyclopedia of

ABERRATIONS

A PSYCHIATRIC HANDBOOK

***Edited by* EDWARD PODOLSKY, M.D.**

State University of New York Medical College

With a Foreword by ALEXANDRA ADLER, M.D.

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Autism, infantile
Auto-punishment

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Body image disturbances
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Cacodaemonomania
Chloral delirium
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Haptodysphoria
Hashish, addiction
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Homosexuality
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Laughter, fits of
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well. One who knew him and his friends only through this account might well exclaim with Matthew Arnold, "What a set!" and let it go at that. Since Mr. Fay's book will probably be read chiefly by those who are already committed to hero-worship, this does not matter too much.

Theater

Harold Clurman

OF THE two readings from Dickens that Emlyn Williams gives (Bijou Theater) I prefer the more varied one, "Mixed Bill." The other—"Bleak House"—is expert, entertaining, and slightly strenuous. The novel itself, even that digest of it Mr. Williams is able to pack into two hours and some minutes, has descriptions, characterizations, and commentary of genius—and a crazy plot in which all is fascinating, mysterious, picturesque without always being relevant; so that finally we are left with an ending which is not a clarification.

While Mr. Williams is an admirable actor, his readings, though they reveal certain facets of his histrionic ability, do not really constitute acting but forms of public address, imitation, and showmanship. What the difference is, is a subject I shall probably have occasion to discuss at another time.

What I propose today is to revert to a question which has come up in regard to certain criticisms of "Camino Real," a recurrent question apropos of plays every season or so. It concerns the issue of "pessimism" in drama.

The word is a vague one, and the author of "Camino Real" might easily argue, if he cared to, that his play is not pessimistic. As I inferred in my own review of the play, the nature of its "philosophy" is somewhat beside the point. No matter what its stated or implied ideology, it is immature art and, in my opinion, inferior to the author's other plays. What is in dispute now is the implication that a play is bad when it is pessimistic—a hypothesis I believe to be pernicious as well as false.

Some of the world's greatest dramatic literature (to go no farther)—"King Lear" and "Oedipus the King"—might reasonably be set down as pessimistic. It is well known, as a French poet once said, that some of the most beautiful poems are pure sobs. And there are others, plays and poems, which amount to curses and imprecations. There have also been plays which might properly be described as "sick"—many of Strindberg's, for example—but which certainly claim our attention and deserve our respect.

Why, then, do we tend in our American theater to feel that designating a play as "pessimistic" is almost tantamount to complete condemnation? The usual explanation is that Americans are reared in a tradition of optimism. The historically happy circumstances of American life make us shy away from the tragic view of life as from something unhealthy as well as distasteful. This is truer of the theater than elsewhere. Hawthorne, Melville, Faulkner, even Hemingway are certainly not sanguine figures. But in our theater of recent years, despite the example of Eugene O'Neill, whose work is tormented by his effort to reconcile himself to the anguish and disorder he has felt and witnessed, there is rarely anything but a grudging or resistant attitude to the play that suggests deep-lying tragedy. Shaw wrote plays pleasant and unpleasant; Anouilh writes "black" plays and "rosy" plays. We insist on sunshine in all our plays just as we recoil from "unsympathetic" characters.

As I am not myself of a gloomy turn of mind and do not accept the rationale of philosophic pessimism, I must hasten to make clear that I believe a certain (unconscious) part of the theater public's objection to the "unhappy" play is justified on aesthetic, intellectual, and moral grounds. For the state of being a man and the state of negation—what might be called the affirmation of nothingness—are incompatible. But there is in our present aversion to the "pessimistic," our insistence that we always look on "the bright side," a profoundly dangerous element.

We want to protect ourselves from a somber or disturbed view of life not because we cherish life so much but because we fear it. A large part of our program of optimism is dread in disguise. Our faith in life too often depends on our blinding ourselves to misfortune and making ourselves deaf to complaint. The present social atmosphere induces us to seek safety above all by cutting ourselves off from everything contradictory, difficult, untoward. The result is culturally stultifying, morally debilitating, aesthetically annihilating.

There can be joy in life only through contact with it. There can be hope only through the recognition of what may be hoped for in the real world. There can be strength only by the confrontation through intelligence, spirit, and love of everything that life is; no one but an imbecile thinks it is supposed to be nothing but beer and skittles.

There are only two valid objections to "pessimism" in a play: that it is a trivial pessimism—many of our "pessimistic" plays give off the sound of a baby crying because its candy has been taken away—or that it includes too little of the stuff of life. The heroic pessimism which, so to speak, scoops up vast chunks of human experience makes great drama because the acceptance of experience, the painful as well as the pleasant, is the ultimate and real "good" of life. Our unwitting censorship of the "pessi-

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mistic" play is a reflection of our reluctance publicly to acknowledge—we may do it privately with a novel—that life is real and life is earnest and that comfort and a streamlined "good time" are not its goals.

Just as the fulness of experience is the true source of happiness in living, so a fulness of life is the basic criterion of excellence in drama. There is more vigor in Hamlet's doubts, more solace in Cordelia's tears, more nobility in Othello's crimes, more dignity in Mephistopheles' denials, more tenderness in Uncle Vanya's frustrations, more relish in the monsters of Webster's "White Devil" than there is gaiety or uplift in a host of our "optimistic" comedies. The man who cries out, "Take him away, he's breaking my heart," ninety-nine times out of a hundred is neither a cheerful nor a kind person.

Records

B. H. Haggin

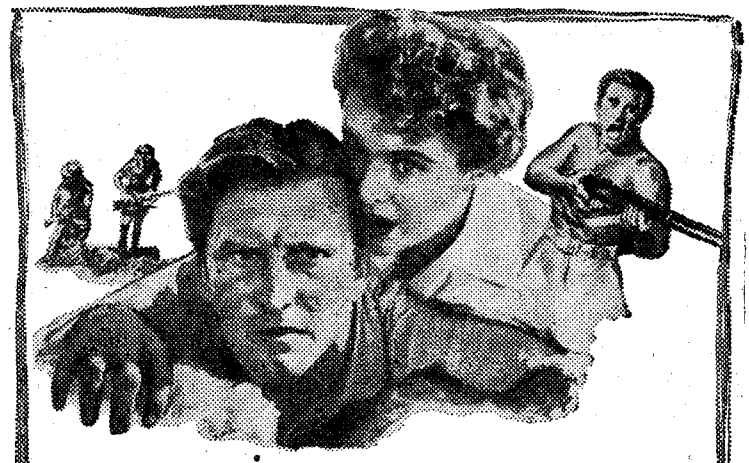
TWO of Mozart's Violin Concertos—the fine K.218, and the less frequently played K.216 with its delightfully high-spirited first movement and wonderful slow movement—are played with engaging warmth and purity by thirteen-year-old Gerard Poulet with the Austrian Symphony under Gaston Poulet (Remington). Instead of the two concertos on one record we are given K.216 with an ineffective performance of the Handel-Harty Water Music by the same orchestra under Gustav Koslik, and K.218 with their acceptable performances of Mozart's Overtures to "Don Giovanni," "Die Entführung," and "Titus." K.216 has noisy surfaces.

Von Karajan's performance of Schubert's Symphony No. 9 with the Vienna Philharmonic is poor and badly reproduced (Columbia).

What is offered as the "complete orchestral score" of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" (Columbia) is actually only an assemblage of all the purely instrumental movements. They comprise the three that are usually played—Romeo Alone, Sadness, Festivities at the Capulets'; Love Scene; Queen Mab—preceded by the Introduction and followed by one of the most remarkable and impressive parts of the work, Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets. The performance in which Mitropoulos conducts the New York Philharmonic-Symphony is violent, insensitive, poorly fitted together, and coarsely executed.

Of the four Bach arias sung by Kathleen Ferrier with the London Philharmonic under Boult (London) I find only "All Is Fulfilled" from the St. John Passion moving; and of the four Handel arias I like the two from "Samson" and "Judas Maccabeus" better than the two from "Messiah." Ferrier's voice is sumptuous but the performances are dull.

Urania, which issued a good German



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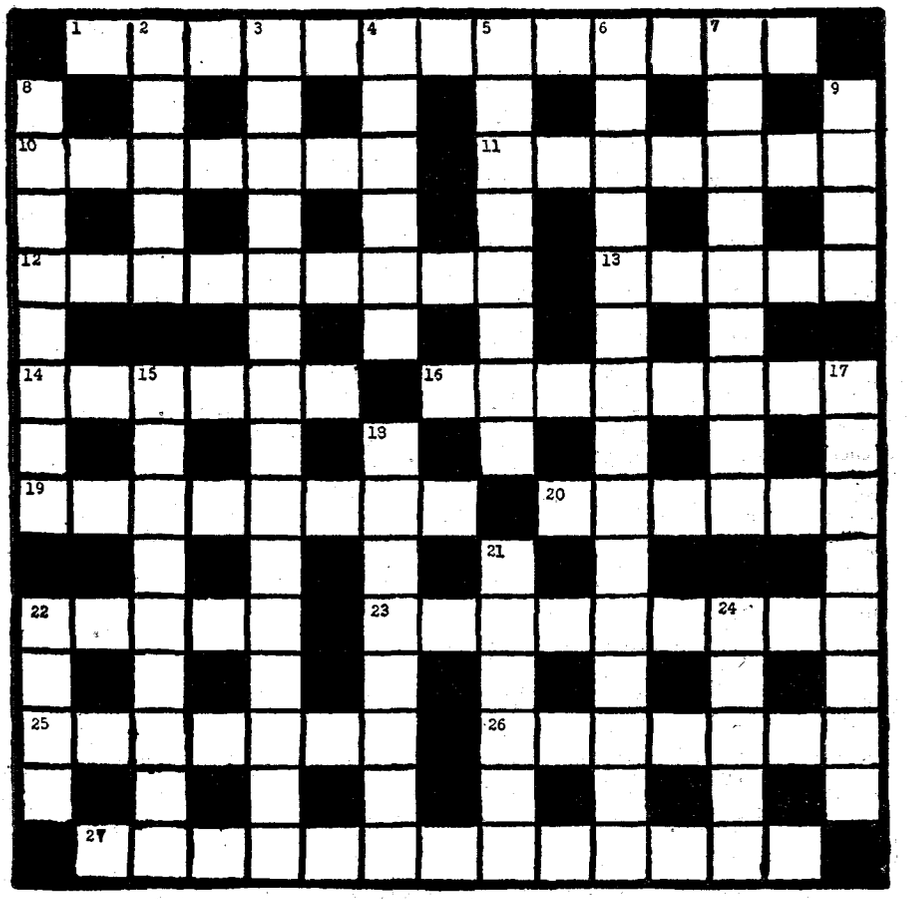
performance of Smetana's richly melodious and in all ways delightful "The Bartered Bride" a year ago, has now issued an excellent performance in Czech by soloists, chorus, and orchestra of the Prague National Theater under Jan Vogel's direction. The tenor voice of Ivo Zidek (Jenik) is a little dry but otherwise good; the soprano of Milada Musilova (Marenka) is fresh and lovely; the light tenor of Oldrich Kovar (Vasek) and the rich bass of Karel Kalas (Kecal) are exactly right for their parts; and the other voices are good except for the perhaps suitable tremolos of the two mothers. The overture is taken a little too fast for clarity, but otherwise the work is paced effectively; and the well-balanced recorded sound allows the orchestra to be heard clearly with the voices. The Czech text and an English translation are provided; but again there are confusing discrepancies with what is on the records.

WRITING ABOUT the Fairchild cartridge last fall after a first hearing, I spoke of the refinement of its sound as against the coarseness of the Pickering's; but further experience has revealed other remarkable characteristics. One listens to the new G. E. and hears what seems to be as good sound as anyone could want; one listens then to the Fairchild and is amazed not only by the new purity of the sound, its clarity and cleanness of definition, but by what is like an additional bloom on it, and by the greater distinctness of the inner strands of the orchestral texture—all of which add up to something fabulously beautiful. I should, however, also report a friend's experience. Having acquired a Fairchild cartridge on my recommendation he found its sound to be superb except for a sharpness whose cause he eventually discovered with the aid of a meter: the cartridge had a rising characteristic—5 db. up at 9,000 cycles, if I remember correctly. Or rather, it had this characteristic with the Fairchild transformer my friend was using (the cartridge requires a transformer); I hadn't had this trouble because the Brociner transformer I had used flattens out the cartridge's response.

I can also report on my experience with a Brociner equalizer, which I acquired primarily for its series of de-emphasizing treble roll-offs by steps of

Crossword Puzzle No. 514

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Plumber's executive committee, as you might say "bored"? (8, 5)
10 One could have thought it a deed which needs revision. (7)
11 Is in the way, as a proposition. (2, 5)
12 Slight intention to speak so. (9)
13 Somewhat less than a friend of the devil. (5)
14 Starts out in wrath, but is altogether peaceful. (6)
16 Given up to practice. (8)
19 Referring to a reward, it takes a dime call to reach it. (8)
20 The spirits of blindness? (6)
22 Apparel of a very specific hue. (5)
23 Look in sundry surrounds for what pertains to smallpox. (9)
25 Firm and fresh in the make-up of one who guides the shoemaker. (7)
26 Is steam radical in the treatment of light? (7)
27 Turner's bank account? (9, 4)

DOWN

2 Prophetic, when men are extremely bony? (5)
3 Natty-appearing character, less formally Hawkeye. (9, 6)
4 Early D. P. (6)
5 A girdle's necessary for such a model of meekness and patience. (8)
6 and 9. Blind and dumb? (3, 2, 5, 3, 2, 4)
7 If your office is new, you can't have been. (9)
8 Doctrine of the 4, perhaps. (8)
9 See 6.
15 Done nicer on the inside! (9)
17 Quit. (8)
18 50 before it, and half-a-dozen after, with a short 30 days for the diplomat. (8)
21 Drink in the effect of the sun—he was 7 when he ran. (6)
22 You left this in the army, perhaps. (Some like to save it.) (4)
24 Leon's alter ego? (5)

• ✤ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 513

ACROSS:—1 and 13 down CONTINENTAL SHELF; 9 HANDBALL; 10 RELAYS; 12 WITNESS; 14 PATOIS; 15 HIGH JUMP; 17 FULL WELL; 20 CALLOW; 22 ISOTOPE; 24 and 11 BURY THE HATCHET; 26 REVIEW; 27 IDAHOANS; 28 STERN SHEETS.

DOWN:—2 and 25 OLD SCHOOL TIES; 3 TRACERS; 4 NELL; 5 NURSING; 6 ALL IN; 7 MANANA; 8 GYPSUM; 16 JOLLY BOAT; 18 UNSEEN; 19 EMPOWER; 20 COURAGE; 21 ON HAND; 23 TWIST.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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4 db, and in addition for its 300-cycle basis turn-over to reduce the heavy bass of old European 78s. The treble roll-offs proved even more valuable than I had anticipated, revealing the need of additional smaller steps between positions 3, 4, and 5 of my Brook amplifier. On the other hand the old European 78s remained heavy even with the 300-cycle turn-over; and I found again that the usefulness of the equalizer was not that it provided the right reproducing characteristics to match the companies' different recording characteristics. The companies haven't adhered to their alleged recording characteristics; further variations in each company's recordings have resulted from changes in microphone placement and differences in acoustic conditions; one therefore uses for a particular recording whatever treble roll-off or bass turn-over makes it sound right—more often a "wrong" than a "right" one, and most often the 500-cycle bass turn-over, the single compromise turn-over of my Brook. The usefulness of the equalizer, then, is that of a special type of tone control; and the Brociner, with separate controls for treble roll-offs and bass turn-overs, is more useful than those—like the new Brook—with a single control providing a number of combined treble-and-bass characteristics.

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